

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 IO-13 ACDA-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8144
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 1278

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT SHUM RO XF SOPN CSCE
SUBJ: KIRALY, TRANSYLVANIA AND THE SOVIETS: ANOTHER
ROMANIAN VIEW
REFS: (A) MUNICH 1091 (NOTAL), (B) STATE 47750 (NOTAL),
(C) BUCHAREST 1224, (D) BUCHAREST 772

1. SUMMARY. IN FEBRUARY 28 DISCUSSION WITH CM, CHAIRMAN OF
ACADEMY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES AND RCP CC FULL MEM-
BER MIHNEA GHEORGHIU:

--SAID HE HAD JUST HEARD NEWS OF KIRALY MOVE TO CARANSEBES
"TO AVOID TROUBLE FOR FRIENDS" ON RFE, AND PROMISED TO CHECK
OUT WHETHER DURESS WAS INVOLVED;
--DESCRIBED KIRALY AS FORMER NKVD AGENT AND PROTEGE OF ANA
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PAUKER PARTNER VASILE LUCA WHO ENTERED PARTY HUNGRY FOR
POWER ALONG WITH MANY OTHER MAGYARS AFTER 1944 AND ENFORCED
TOUGH ANTI-ROMANIAN POLICY IN PARTS OF TRANSYLVANIA THEY AD-
MINISTERED;
--ASCRIBED KIRALY COMPLAINTS TO FRUSTRATION AFTER NORMAL
RETIREMENT AT AGE 60, AFTER LIFETIME IN POWER, BUT INSISTED
SOVIETS HAD PUT HIM U TO IT (WHICH DOES NOT SPEAK WELL, HE

ADMITTED, FOR ROMANIAN SECURITY) BECAUSE TURMOIL IN SE EUROPE AND EASTERN MED IS TO THEIR ADVANTAGE FOR POST-TITO (AND "POST-SADAT") PERIOD. HE WAS ALSO IMPRESSED WITH NEW POLISH INTEREST IN ROMANIAN NATIONALITIES PROBLEMS AND FACT THAT TRANSYLVANIA AGITATION IN HUNGARY UNITED RAKOSI-TYPE COMMUNISTS AND NOSTALGICS FOR HUNGARIAN RULE OVER RURAL TRANSYLVANIA LIKE GYULA ILLYES. WE WOULD APPRECIATE BIO INFO RE KIRALY'S NKVD CONNECTIONS AND STALINIST CAREER; WILL REMIND GHEORGHU AT SOME POINT OF PROMISE TO CHECK OUT DURESS FACTOR IN KIRALY'S MOVE; AND NOTE THAT SENSITIVITY TO RADIOS IS PROBABLY SHARED BY OTHER INFLUENTIAL ROMANIANS. END SUMMARY.

2. DCM'S FEBRUARY 28 MEETING ON OTHER TOPICS WITH MIHNEA GHEORGHU (RCP CC FULL MEMBER, CHAIRMAN OF ACADEMY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES, FORMER DEPUTY MINISTER OF EDUCATION) DRIFTED INEFFABLY INTO HUNGARIAN HISTORICAL POLEMICS OVER TRANSYLVANIA (GHEORGHU IS LITEARY HISTORIAN BY TRAINING), KIRALY LETTER AND TREATMENT OF MAGYAR MINORITY.

3. GHEORGHU VOLUNTEERED HE HAD HEARD ON RFE IN LAST DAYS THAT KIRALY HAD MOVED TO CARANSEBES AND MADE STATEMENT HE HAD DONE SO IN ORDET TO ABOID TROUBLE FOR FRIENDS IN TIRGU MURES. DCM REPLIED THERE ARE ALSO REPORTS HE MADE MOVE UNDER PRESSURE, INCLUDING PRESSURE ON FRIENDS, AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT GIVEN U.S. PUBLIC SENSITIVITY TO HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES THESE REPORTS WERE UNTRUE. GHEORGHU SAID HE WOULD CHECK IT OUT, BUT IN HIS PERSONAL RPT PERSONAL VIEW KIRALY HAD PROBABLY MOVED

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AT URGING OF FAMILY, TO GET OUT OF TENSE ATMOSPHERE IN TIRGU MURES. LOCAL MAGYAR SOCIETY THERE APPEARS TO BE DIVIDED AMONG THOSE WHO APPLAUD HIM FOR RAISING FLAG IN GOOD OLD FIGHT, AND THOSE WHO SEE HIS APPROACH AS DANGEROUS IRRITANT FOR ROMANIAN-MAGYAR RELATIONS IN ROMANIA AT DELICATE JUNCTURE.

4. HE KNEW KIRALY, GHEORGHU WENT ON, AND HAD ALWAYS FOUND HIM ARROGANT AND VAIN. HE KNEW VINCZE, TO WHOM KIRALY HAD WRITTEN, EVEN BETTER, THROUGH HIS ROMANIAN WIFE, CONSTANTA CRACIU, WHO HAD BEEN MINISTER OF EDUCATION IN EARLY 70'S WHEN HE (GHEORGHU) WAS DEPUTY MINISTER. BOTH VINCZE AND WIFE HAD BEEN IN ELLEGAL PREWAR PARTY, AND IN PRISON UNDER ANTONESCU REGIME, AND BOTH WERE DEVOTED TO BETTERMENT OF ROMANIAN-MAGYAR RELATIONS IN ROMANIA. KIRALY, FOR HIS PART, HAD BEEN IN COUNTRY BEFORE AUGUST 1944 SEIZURE OF POWER, BUT AS NKVD AGENT, AND HAD JOINTE PARTY ONLY THEREAFTER, AND AT SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATION OF VASILE LUCA, ANA PAUKER'S PARTNER IN STALIN-PAUKER-RAKOSI MUSCOVITE TRIANGLE WHICH HAD COME TO RULE IN HUNGARY AND ROMANIA. IN THOSE EARLY DAYS, THERE HAD BEEN WAVE OF MAGYARS, MAINLY RIGHTISTS, WHO JOINTED ROMANIAN PARTY TO ESCAPTE RETRIBUTION AND BECAUSE THEY SMELLED POWER (JUST AS THERE HAD BEEN INFLUX OF FORMER ROMANIAN IRON GUARDISTS INTO PARTY, FOR

SAME REASON), AND KIRALY WAS PART OF THIS WAVE.

5. THESE MAGYARS HAD CONTROLLED ADMINISTRATION IN TRANSYLVANIA (LUCA WAS HIMSELF A SZEKLER), AND HAD PROMPTLY APPLIED SAME ANTI-ROMANIAN DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES (FORCED NAME CHANGES IN BIRTH REGISTERS, RAZING OF (ROMANIAN) ORTHODOX BUT NOT (MAGYAR) LUTHERAN CHURCHES) FAVORED BY PRE-1918 HUNGARIAN ADMINISTRATION AND HORTHY RULERS OF NORTHERN TRANSYLVANIA BETWEEN 1940 AND 1944. (ACADEMY HAD DONE AN UNPUBLISHED SAMPLE STUDY OF CHURCH AND CITY HALL BIRTH REGISTERS, GHEORGHU SAID, AND FOUND 4,000 CASES IN 1944-49 PERIOD; ROMANIANS HAD NOT DONE SAME IN 1918-1940 PERIOD TO MAGYARS, HE INSISTED IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION.) STALIN HIMSELF HAD NOT DECIDED WHOM NORTHERN TRANSYLVANIA SHOULD BE GIVEN TO UNTIL PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE OF 1946, WHEN IT WENT TO CONFIDENTIAL

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ROMANIA, AND THEREAFTER MOST FORMER MAGYAR RIGHTISTS AND FORMER ROMANIAN IRON GUARDISTS HAD BEEN PURGED OUT OF PARTY. HOWEVER, SOME OPPORTUNIST MAGYARS LIKE KIRALY WITH HIS NKVD CONNECTIONS, HAD REMAINED, AS "LITTLE VICEROYS" IN TIRGU MURES.

6. KIRALY HAD ALWAYS BEEN STALINIST AND CONFRONTATIONAL IN HIS APPROACH TO NATIONALITY RELATIONS, GHEORGHU SAID, AND PEOPLE LIKE VINCZE HAD ALWAYS BEEN OPPOSED TO IT. WHEN KIRALY WAS FIRST SECRETARY IN

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USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 1278

COVASNA, BUCHAREST HAD BEEN FLOODED WITH COMPLAINTS OF DISCRIMINATION FROM LOCAL ROMANIANS. NEVERTHELESS, WITH HIS CONNECTIONS HE HAD STAYED ON UNTIL RETIREMENT AGE AT 60. HIS PERSONAL LIFE HAD HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH HIS RETIREMENT: DIVORCE CAN HAPPEN IN BEST OF FAMILIES. RETIRED WITHOUT POWER IN TIRGU MURES, HE WAS FRUSTRATED, AND HAD RAISED HIS FLAG.

7. IT WAS NOT AS IF THERE WERE NO OTHER APPROACHES, GHEORGHU SAID. AS EXAMPLE, IN PREPARATION FOR LAST PREVIOUS CENSUS BEFORE 1976, HUNGARIAN WORKINGMEN'S COUNCIL HAD REQUESTED THAT SZEKLETS IN NE PART OF COUNTRY BE INCLUDED AMONG MAGYARS, INSTEAD, OF BEING BROKEN OUT IN SEPARATE SZEKLER CATEGORY AS BEFORE. THEN, DURING CENSUS, IT HAD BEEN DISCOVERED--WHEN COMPLAINTS FROM SZEKLETS WERE INVESTIGATED--THAT SOME 700 MAGYAR
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CENSUSTAKERS HAD BEEN AT WORK TRYING TO CONVINCE SZEKLETS TO SIGN UP AS MAGYARS. UPSHOT HAD BEEN COMPROMISE: ALL HAD BEEN COUNTED AS MAGYARS EXCEPT 1600 HARD-CORE FAMILIES WHO SIMPLY REFUSED, AND HAD BEEN INCLUDED AMONG "OTHER NATIONALITIES." AND THIS PRECEDENT, WHICH AFTER ALL FAVORED MAGYARS, HAD BEEN FOLLOWED FOR 1976 CENSUS. IF KIRALY HAD COME TO BUCHAREST, PRESENTED HIS CASE TO RIGHT PEOPLE, ASKED FOR SPECIFIC THINGS LIKE MORE SCHOOLS OR MORE THEATERS, INSISTED ON SEEING CEAUSESCU, HE WOULD HAVE GOTTEN RESULTS. WHAT HE HAD DONE INSTEAD WAS RAISE FLAG, WHICH WOULD BE WAVED IMMEDIATELY AT ROMANIAN PUBLIC VIA RADIOS.

8. DANGER WAS THAT FLAG WOULD PROVOKE ETHNIC ANTAGONISM, INCLUDING ETHNIC BACKLASH AMONG ROMANIAN MAJORITY. GHEORGHU SAID THAT IN HIS HOME TOWN OF CRAIOVA, AMONG OLTENIANS, THERE WAS WIDESPREAD RESENTMENT AT WHAT WAS CONSIDERED DEVELOPMENT AID TO LESS DEVELOPED PARTS OF COUNTRY AND TO MAGYARS IN PARTICULAR, AT SACRIFICE OF IMMEDIATE BENEFIT TO ENSURE IMPLAN- TATION OF INDUSTRY AND OTHER PROGRESS IN AREAS LIKE TRANSYLVANIA. FIFTEEN YEARS AGO MAGYAR CENTER OF TIRGU MURES HAD BEEN 75-25 MAGYAR, WITH PROFESSIONALS MAGYAR AND DISHWASHERS ROMANIAN. TOWN HAD WANTED INDUSTRY, AND IT HAD BEEN INTRODUCED, BUT WORK FORCE WAS NECESSARILY DRAWN FROM AMONG ROMANIAN PEASANTS IN SURROUNDING VILLAGES, WITH RESULT THAT TOWN IS NOW 65-35

ROMANIAN, WITH ROMANIAN PROFESSIONALS TOO. BUT IT HAS GROWN FROM 70,000 TO 170,000: NUMBERS OF MAGYARS, INCLUDING PROFESSIONALS, HAD NOT DECLINED, BUT PROPORTIONS HAD CHANGED IN COURSE OF MODERNIZATION. FRUSTRATION KIRALY WAS EXPRESSING WAS NATURAL, BUT DANGEROUS, SINCE ROMANIAN MAJORITIES ARE CAPABLE OF BEING JUST AS CHAUVINIST AS MAGYARS.

9. FRICTION AND BACKLASH COULD ONLY BENEFIT SOVIET UNION, GHEORGHU SAID, AND IN HIS PERSONAL VIEW KIRALY WAS ALSO INSPIRED
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BY SOVIETS. GHEORGHU SAID HE HAD BEEN IMPRESSED TO LEARN THAT TWO MONTHS AGO TWO POLISH RPT POLISH HISTORIANS IN POLAND HAD SUDDENLY BUSIED THEMSELVES WITH SOLUTION OF ROMANIAN MINORITIES PROBLEM, AND HE WAS EQUALLY IMPRESSED WITH FACT THAT AGITATION OVER TRANSYLVANIA IN HUNGARY JOINED OLD-STYLE RAKOSI COMMUNISTS WITH MORE OR LESS RIGHTWING SENTIMENTALISTS AND NOSTALGICS FOR GOOD OLD DAYS WHEN HUNGARIANS RULED RURAL TRANSYLVANIA, LIKE GYULA ILLYES. ASKED WHAT ADVANTAGE SOVIETS MIGHT GAIN FROM SEEING THESE ISSUES RAISED AT THIS TIME, GHEORGHU INSISTED--SUSLOV IS "CRAZY FANATIC" IN OLD AGE--THAT THEY WILL SEE ADVANTAGE TO TURMOIL IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE IN POST-TITO PERIOD AND IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IN "POST-SADAT" PERIOD. WHEN DCM RAISED EYEBROWS AT LATTER CHARACTERIZATION, GHEORGHU SMILED SHEEPISHLY AND KNOCKED WOOD.

10. WHEN DCM NOTED THAT THEORY OF SOVIET INCITEMENT DOES NOT REFLECT WELL ON EFFICIENCY OF ROMANIAN SECURITY, GHEORGHU REPLIED THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO RID ROMANIAN PARTY OF ALL SOVIET SYMPATHIZERS, AND HE "WAS SURE" THESE WERE STILL SOVIET AGENTS IN IT, AMONG ROMANIANS AS AMONG MAGYARS.

11. COMMENT. OUR BIO FILES ARE NOT LONG ON INFO CONCERNING KIRALY'S CAREER, AND WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFO AVAILABLE TO ADDRESSEES RELEVANT TO GHEORGHU'S ALLEGATIONS CONCERNING NKVD CONNECTION OR ACTIVITIES DURING STALIN TIMES IN ROMANIA. WE WILL ALSO REMIND GHEORGHU AT SOME POINT OF PROMISE TO CHECK OUT REASONS FOR KIRALY'S MOVE TO CARENSEBES. RE REF A, GHEORGHU'S SENSITIVITY TO RADIOS' ROLE IN AMPLIFYING KIRALY'S COMPLAINTS WAS OBVIOUS, AND WE SUSPECT IT IS SHARED BY OTHER INFLUENTIAL ROMANIANS.
AGGREY

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